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OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CURRENT SITUATION AT HOME AND ABROAD

(Broadcast by Toshio SHIRATORI, on March 1, 1941)

We are now face to face with the most serious crisis in history both at home and abroad. Japan is beset with unprecedented difficulties, while the world at large is plunging headlong into an enormous commotion which promises to be protracted, for how long no one knows.

Ten years have already elapsed since the cry of emergency was first heard in our country. Of this period, we have spent the last three and a half years in carrying on a war on the largest scale in the history of our country since its opening to the world. In the meantime, considerable changes have occurred in our internal situation. About one hundred thousand precious lives have been lost, leaving behind hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who have been deprived of their fathers, husbands, sons or brothers. Our daily livelihood is becoming more and more cramped and various inconveniences and hardships are experienced at every turn. There is no Japanese who is not desirous of the return as soon as possible of the days of peace and comfort. But the present emergency has not arisen on account of Japan alone. The China affair is not a conflict that broke out for reasons confined to the Orient alone, nor solely as a product of Sino-Japanese relations. Its origin must be traced to deeper causes rooted in the inevitability of world-wide developments. It is impossible, therefore, for Japan alone to solve the present extraordinary situation

DEF. DOC. #301

and return to "normalcy."

In order to stabilize the situation, it is imperative that the difficulties be faced in terms of the world as a whole. The fact that Japan, Germany and Italy entered into an alliance last fall must likewise be viewed in such a perspective. It is true that the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact has resulted in an increased aggravation of relations between Japan on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other. It must also be admitted that the inter-relationship between the wars in Asia and in Europe has thereby become more pronounced. But this is not necessarily to be considered an outcome of the Tripartite Pact. Since the time of the Manchurian Incident and throughout the China affair, the interests of Japan and those of the Anglo-Saxon Nations have clashed on more than one occasion, and their respective opinions and claims were found irreconcilable. It became plain that it is entirely hopeless for Japan to settle satisfactorily the China affair and to establish a new order in East Asia on the basis of compromise and co-operation with the Anglo Saxon Powers. That is the reason why Japan at last grasped the hands of Germany and Italy, whose interests and views have been found in complete accord with those of Japan. The aggravation of our relations with Britain and the United States is, therefore, the cause and not the result of the Tripartite Pact. The argument is said to be advanced in some quarters that Japan's diplomatic dealings have become difficult because of the conclusion of such a superfluous connection. It must be pointed out here that such a suggestion puts the cart before the horse.

In this way, the world has been divided into two camps, of old and new forces, which are altogether incompatible with each other, politically.

D.F. D6C. #301

economically and ideologically. This in brief is the picture of the great world commotion which we envisage today. Composing one camp are the countries of Britain, the United States, France and the Netherlands, which have founded their present wealth and influence by monopolizing the best part of the world and more especially by oppressing and exploiting the backward peoples of Asia who are kith and kin of our own race. On the other side are countries like Japan, Germany and Italy, whose people have all the superior qualities of industry, honesty, bravery and a spirit of unity, but whose lands and resources are limited due to their belated appearance on the international stage, with the consequence that they find it not a little difficult to maintain the livelihood of their teeming millions; nations who have gallantly resolved by some means or other to reconstruct a world order which is against reason and humanity. Since the clash is thus between two groups of countries whose ideas and positions are so diametrically opposed to each other, to restore peace is a task that cannot easily be accomplished.

Take for instance, the question of the China affair. Nigh upon four long years have elapsed and a solution is not yet in sight. It is simply because, as everyone is now aware, China is not the only nation to deal with but there are countries like Britain and the United States behind China which, unlike Japan, evidently consider it to their interest to prolong the semicolonial status of China in order to exploit the four hundred million Chinese. We have hitherto been fighting single handed against these influences. Believers in the materialistic doctrine of the survival of the fittest, these countries do not and will not understand what the national character and ideals of Japan are, or what "Sino-Japanese

0 164 0002 0054

DEF. DOC. #301

co-existence and co-prosperity" really means to the peoples of Japan and China. They have simply been accusing Japan of oppressing the weak China and of being an aggressor. Not only have they abused Japan but have actually been aiding Chungking and obstructing Japan's efforts ever since the outset of the unfortunate affair. Their anti-Japanese activities have sunk deeply in the minds of the Japanese who cannot easily forget them.

The protraction of the Sino-Japanese conflict was inevitable so long as such Anglo-American activities continued. With the outbreak of the European war, however, the situation began to change. Having hitherto shown so much enmity toward this country Britain and the United States cannot but avow their intention of continuing to aid Chungking, and have actually been increasing their economic pressure on Japan. But whatever they may say, the actual developments of the world situation ^{are} such that they cannot afford to concern themselves too much with China. For them to help Chungking effectively is now impossible. The principal theater of war has been shifted to Europe and the China scene has gradually been relegated to the background. Since the star actors or the stage directors of the Sino-Japanese drama are kept busy in Europe, the Far Eastern theater has naturally to be neglected. In the absence of the promoters of the affair, Japan and China, being racially and culturally brother nations of Asia, ought to be able to come to an understanding. Chiang Kai-shek and his followers, however, are still under an illusion. Shutting their eyes both to the altered aspect of the world situation and to the change in character which the China affair has undergone, they continue their resistance against Japan in hopes of continued assistance from

PURL: <http://www.legaltools.org/doc/479733/>

0 164 0002 0060

DEF. DOC. #301

Britain and America. It is hoped that sooner or later the truth will dawn upon them. I for one am persuaded that the China affair will before long be settled. We of Japan must surely do all we can to wind it up as soon as possible.

We must not forget, however, that those "headmen" who have gone away for the moment will come back to Asia soon enough. The mice cannot afford to play too merrily while the cat is away. Even if they be baffled in Europe, they are not the sort of ^{headmen} who will give up the game. If shut out from Europe, Asia would become more than ever important for them, and they would unquestionably concentrate their efforts on the affairs of this part of the world. Inasmuch as Japan's idea of establishing a sphere of common prosperity in greater East Asia must, in their eyes, be an encroachment on their own interests, the Anglo-Saxons would oppose it with even greater vigour than in the case of the China affair. If that be the case, we must bear in mind that our position will not be made easier through their defeat in Europe alone, not to speak of our plight in case they win. We must be prepared for more and more efforts and sacrifices for the lofty task of realising Asia's independence and emancipation.

As for Germany, she will not be able to rest content by merely defeating or ever occupying Britain in Europe. The German-British struggle will not come to an end with that. It is to be expected that Britain will move, with her sea power intact, to her Asiatic colonies, Canada or Australia, and try to continue her resistance. Besides, it must be presumed that the United States will participate openly in the war when her preparations are completed, though her immediate entry is problematical, as she is not at present prepared, and, moreover, there

DEF. DCC. #301

seems to exist a division of opinion in that country regarding her involvement in the war. At any rate, with President Roosevelt striking an attitude as if his country were already in the war, American participation must be considered inevitable. In point of fact, the United States is now virtually a belligerent, whatever name one may choose to give to her present status.

Under these circumstances, the European war has every prospect of developing into an extremely protracted war all over the world. A war lasting for ten, twenty years, is not unthinkable, and Japan will inevitably become involved therein. That is clear enough if only from the letter of the Tripartite Pact. Such an eventuality may, from Japan's point of view, be considered an expansion of the China affair into a general world war, or a melting together of the wars in Asia and Europe. Be it what it may, it is clear that Japan will not be allowed to stand aloof from such a world-wide conflagration.

Such a prospect cannot but be a source of intense apprehension to many people in this country, nor are endeavours wanting, I understand, to curb the progress of events. I am afraid, however, that such efforts will after all prove fruitless. History is eloquent in testifying to the truth that all great changes in human thought have resulted from long periods of struggle. No human power can check the overwhelming tide of a historic inevitability.

When such a long-term world war does come, our nation should not be uselessly upset or worried, or vainly think of a course running counter to historic necessity. Before everything, we must put right our internal conditions so that we may successfully cope with the impending world

cataclysm. I know that I shall be taken to task by some people who would say, "Three and a half years of warfare in China is more than enough. How could we bear further ten or twenty years of armed struggle and tribulations? Stop your nonsense!" I yield to none in hoping for as quick a termination of the war as possible. Nevertheless, if the trend of the times is otherwise and cannot be avoided it is imperative that we should be prepared for the worst. That the way in which we have been carrying on the China affair will be utterly inadequate is clear enough. There is need for an entirely new start. The cry for a new political and economic system, the movement for the "observance of the way of the Imperial subjects", and the demand for "high degree national defense", are they not measurements to meet the requirements, of the extraordinary world situation?

Japan is a country standing unique in the world for her national and state characteristics. Looking up to the Emperor, "the Son of Heaven", as their father, the people are conscious of their blood relationship one with another, the whole nation thus being formed into a large family and brotherhood. The greater the difficulties confronting them, the more firmly tightened are the ties that bind them together. That is the rare quality and strong point of this nation. That distinguishes them from some of the democracies where individuals are mechanically assembled together and in the name of the natural rights of man, liberty and equality, every one acts as he pleases. That there is in this country no possibility of an internal breakdown, however long and severe a test the people may be put to, ought more than anything else to contribute to our equanimity of mind.

0 164 0002 0063

DEF. DOC. #301

Moreover, Japan's geographical position is such as to render her practically immune from war's ravages in spite of the great modern improvement in the instruments of war. As regards the countries adjacent to her, China is as every one knows, while our relations with the Soviet Union are expected progressively to improve, leaving no cause for anxiety from that quarter. It is only on the sea that we must keep watch. The Pacific, however, is a boundless ocean. It behoves us not to entertain too much apprehension, placing our trust in our unbeaten navy. The talk about removing the old and the young from the cities is to my mind worse than useless, causing as it does unwarranted misgivings among the general public.

In a long-term struggle, economic and ideological warfare will play a more important part than an actual clash in arms. It is so to speak a marathon race as compared to lightning stroke warfare which may be likened to a sprint race. In a struggle of this kind serenity of mind and strong nerves are essential. So far we have been told that "it is war time, that it is a temporary phenomenon, and that it is a matter of perseverance for only a year or two". That is not the proper attitude of mind in face of the trying difficulties ahead of us. On the contrary it is desirable that we should have enough composure of mind to tell ourselves that the war conditions have come to stay and that we must try to improve our internal conditions while fighting in China. That ought naturally to arise from the character of the war we are now engaged in, for is it not a war for the establishment of a new order? We must construct while fighting. It would be an ideal development if it could be shown that when the war is over the new order is there both at home and on the continent.

PURL: <http://www.legal-tools.org/doc/479733/>

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DEF. DOC. #301

The construction of the so-called "defence-state" must in my opinion aim primarily at the adjustment of the internal structure in such a way as to enable us to cope with the world emergency. Its immediate purpose is the expansion of the country's productive power. But this cannot be achieved unless we are one and all fully awake to the reality of the international situation and, realizing the essential requirements of a modern warfare, give up all selfishness. Without the conscious cooperation of the people, no amount of legislation or exercise of governmental authority will bring any good results. Above all, human instinct and human nature must be given free play. All methods should therefore be avoided which, in the name of war-time requirements, unnecessarily darken the hearts of the people and hold out no hope for the future. Although mental slackening must be guarded against, yet fidgeting and bustling will get us nowhere for it is a Marathon, and a long one at that which we have to run. Cheerfulness is the one ineradicable trait of the Japanese people. The greatest national calamity that befell the Yamato race in its long history, was when the Great God Ama-terasu hid behind the Heavenly Cave throwing utter darkness upon the whole world below. What did the eight hundred thousand gods do in face of the emergency? Were they helplessly given to weeping and sorrowing? Far from it, they assembled before the Heavenly Cave and sang and danced and laughed till the heavens shook and rang again. That, I take it, is the characteristic way of our race in meeting difficulties.

As I said at the outset the extraordinary situation with which Japan has been confronted in recent years has arisen from deep causes beyond

PURL: <http://www.legal-tools.org/doc/479733/>

DOC. #301

human comprehension. Both the Manchurian incident and the China affair must be attributed as it were to a Heavenly disposition: they were not of our own making, nor are any group of men to be held responsible for them. What we should do is to grasp the meaning of that Disposition. I venture to believe that today the Japanese people have rightly grasped the deep significance of the Divine will in putting them to the test of the emergency privations. It is not known who said it first, but it is now the consensus of opinion that the solution of the China problem must be along lines worthy of the Imperial idea of universal brotherhood or one world family. In regard also to the proposed new structure at home, it is pointed out that the one thing needful is how to enable the hundred million people to put in practice unhampered the way of the Imperial subjects. It is indeed noteworthy that such a method ^{should} spontaneously be proposed for the solution of our difficulties both at home and abroad. That would seem to prove beyond chance that the sons of Yamato, faced with the gravest situation in history, have awakened to the true meaning of our national structure and of the mission imposed upon them. So long as we maintain that consciousness and live up to that spirit, no amount of difficulties or calamities need cause us any misgiving or apprehension.

Frankly speaking, our people have made light of the China war and failed so far to put forth their efforts to the full. Moreover, since the dregs of individualism and materialism have not altogether been eliminated from their thought, there have been various defects in the country's wartime system, giving rise to complaints, decrease in production and failure of goods to appear on the market. But, once the country should be drawn into the world melstrom whether we like it or not, why it not

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be expected that the attitude of the people will naturally undergo a fundamental change?

Once preparations for a long and total war are completed on the basis of a new national structure we can well expect the country to overcome all dangers, and its future to be full of promise. The present conflicts in the East and the West are at bottom due to the fact that the old order has reached its limits throughout the world. Its defeat seems therefore natural. That, after the life-and-death grapple between the new and old orders at enormous sacrifices, the old should emerge victorious, rendering fruitless the efforts and sacrifices of the new, is hard to imagine in the light of the theory of the evolution of human society. Unless, therefore, we commit the error of sticking to the old system at home and falling along with that system, we need perhaps not be too tragic about the future of this nation.

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DET. DOC. #301

C E R T I F I C A T E

We hereby certify that the treatise in the accompanying paper entitled "On the Current Situation at Home and Abroad" written by Mr. SHIRATORI Toshio is a true and exact copy of an article given on p. 9-11 of "Radio Lectures and Courses", edition No. 127, which is in the custody of this Association.

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Nippon Radio Broadcast Association, incorporated Jurist.
(Association Seal)

T R A N S L A T I O N C E R T I F I C A T E

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/s/ William E. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan

Date 23 Jan. 1947

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JURATORI

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内外發局を語る

白 鳥 敏 夫

今日は内も外も、歴史あつて以來の重大時期であります。日本は未曾有の困難に直面してゐると云はれまするし、世界は正に長期大動亂の嵐の中に突入しつつあるのであります。

日本に非常時の聲を聞いてから最早や十年になります。その中最近の三年半と云ふもの、我々は開闢以來の大戦争を支那でやつ

DEF DOC # 301

て参つたのであります。その間に國內の情勢も大變に變つて來ました。十萬からの貴い人柱を出して居ります。親を失ひ、兄弟を失ひ子を失つた方々は幾十萬の多きに達するわけであります。國民の生活も大分窮屈になつて参りました。色々と不便があり困難があります。國民として、一日も速かに平和安穩の時代を迎へたいと希望しないものではありません。併し乍ら、この非常時は之れは日本だけの原因で起つたものではない、支那戦争も東洋だけの理由、日本と支那とだけの關係から勃發した戦争ではないのであります。實は世界共通の已むに已まれぬ深い原因と必然性とに基くものでありますから、日本だけで、この非常時を解消して常時に戻すわけには参らないのであります。

どうしても、之は世界全體として問題が解決されなければ到底治まらないのであります。昨春秋、日本とドイツ、イタリアとが軍事同盟を結んだのも、さうした關係があるからであります。同

りまうが、之は本米騒の騒でふるころを特に申上りて置きて

いふ全く立場の異つた物の考へ方の違つた國々の間の衝突でありますから、之はなかなか一朝一夕にして平和の恢復を見ることは困難であります。

例へば支那事變に致しましても四年近くに亘つて未だ解決しないのは、ほんとの相手が支那ではなくつて、支那の四億五千萬の民衆を利用し搾取し、支那をいつまでも半植民地状態に残して置かうと云ふ、日本と全く考へが違ひ行き方の違つた英米のやうな國が背後にあるからであることは、今日は誰れも知らぬものはない。これまでは我々は獨力でかういふ勢力と戦つて來た。彼等の様な物質主義、弱肉強食主義の國民には、日本の天皇とは如何なる御存在であらせられるか、八紘一宇の理想は如何なるものであるか、日文の共存共榮とは如何なる意味か、かういふことは分りもせず、また分らうともせず、ただ日本は支那といふ弱い國をいぢめる悪者である、侵略者であると云つて來たのであります。單

に悪口ばかりではなく、實際に於ても事變中、英米は随分支那を助け日本の邪魔をして來たことは、我々日本國民の骨身に沁みて忘れることの出來ない所でありまして、彼等が背後にある限り支那事變はいやでも非常な長期戦とならざるを得なかつたのであります。處がヨーロッパ戦争の始まると共に、局面は一變して参りました。なるほど英米は今迄あれだけ日本に敵意を發して参つたのでありますから、行掛り上、依然支那を助けると言つて居り、日本に對しては經濟上益々壓迫を加へて來て居りますが、併し口では何と云はうとも最早や實際上彼等は支那の事に多くかまつて居られなくなつた。支那を有効に助けることが出來なくなつた。今や彼等から見て、主戦場はヨーロッパに移つて仕舞つたのであります。自然、支那戦争は段々影が薄くなつて参りました。英米といふ主役と申すか舞臺監督と申すか、さういふ者共があちらで忙しくなつたのでありますから、こちらの舞臺が閑になるのは

當然であります。かういふ風に事變の張本人が居なくなつて見れば、後は日本と支那と、もともとアジアの兄弟同志であるから話合ひはらかな筈であります。今の處、蔣介石初めまだ夢が醒めないで、世界の様子が一變して來たことも知らず日支事變の性質が變つて來たことも分らず、依然として英米にたより日本に抵抗を續けて居りますが、今に彼等もほんとのことが分つて參りませう。私は支那事變だけは間もなく一應片附くであらうと考へるし、また日本としては早く片附けなければならぬと存するのであります。

併し乍ら、一時遠方に行つてゐる鬼はちき又アジアに歸つて參るであらうと云ふことを忘れてはなりません。我々の「鬼の居ぬ間の沈滞」もあまりゆつくりは出來ないのです。たとへ（？）ヨロッパで負けたとしても、なかなかそれだけで引込んでしまふ鬼ではない。英米の勢力がヨロッパから締め出されると、今度

は彼等にとつてアジアが、今までよりも一層大事なものになつて来る。彼等はこれまでよりも、一段とアジアに勢力を集中して参ります。日本が、大東亞共榮圈を作ると云ふことは、之は直接彼等の領分が侵されると考へるのでありますから、イギリス、アメリカは之に對して支那の問題よりはもつと強く日本に反對するのであります。さうであるならば、彼等がヨーロッパで勝てば勿論のこと、負けてもそれだけでは日本の立場は必ずしも樂にはならぬ。我々のアジア獨立、アジア解放の聖業は、今後は愈々大なる努力と犠牲とを必要とするものであることを覺悟しなければならぬ。

又ドイツと致しましても、イギリスをヨーロッパで破つた。英本土を占領したといふだけでは決して安心出來ないと思ひます。戦争はそれでお終ひにはならぬものと見なければならぬ。イギリスは必ずその海軍力をまづめてアジア方面の植民地やカナダ、

濠洲に據つて抵抗を續けると思はれまするし又アメリカも今はまだ軍備が出来てゐない上に、國論も一致してゐない様であるから直ちに參戰はすまいが、彼の國の再軍備が出来上つたならば公然戰爭には入ると見なければならぬ。ルーズヴェルト大統領などは昨今はまるで自分が戰爭をやつてゐるやうな口吻でありますからアメリカの參戰は必然と云はなければならぬ。實は今日でも名は何と呼ばうとアメリカは事實上戰爭してゐるのであります。さうすると、この戰爭は全世界に亘る恐ろしく長期の戰爭になりませう。十年も二十年も續くことが考へられます。日本も無論其の中に捲き込まれる、之は三國條約で明かに決つてゐるのであります。これは見やうに依つては支那戰爭が擴大して世界戰爭になつたとも云へませうし、又東西の戰爭が一つに融け込んだとも見ることが出来ると思ふのであります、何れにしても、日本が此の世界戰爭を袖手傍觀することが出来ないのは明かであります。

この情勢を見て取つて、昨今國內には少なからず、恐慌を來してゐる向もあるやうであります。又何うかして、この勢を嘆ひ止めようと努力する人々もあるさうであります。併し乍らそれは畢竟無益であります。人類の思想が大轉換を遂げるためには、常に長期の戦亂時代を経過して參つてゐるのであります。人力を以て之を堰き止めることは出來るものではありません、謂はば歴史の必然であります。

我々日本國民としては、この長期世界戦争に際して、徒らにあつてたり心配したり、又歴史に逆行するやうな行き方を考へたりしない、何よりも先づ、國內を固め、長期戦を立派に戦ひ抜くの覺悟を決めなければなりません。支那事變の三年半で随分困難も増して來て居るのに、この上また十年も二十年も戦争されて堪るか、冗談もよい加減にするがいいといふお叱りを受けるかも知れない。勿論私も戦争が一日も早く済むことを希望する段になれ

ば人後に落ちるものではない。併し乍ら、それが今日の大勢であり不可能であるのなら我々としては之に備へなければならぬ。支那事變を戦つて來た通りの方法では、やつて行けないことは明かである、この際我々は根本的に出直さなければならぬ。新體制と云ひ、臣道實踐と云ひ、國防國家と云ふものは實は、この容易ならぬ世界の情勢に對應する爲めにこそ、その必要があるのでありませう。

由來日本は世にも有り難い國柄であります。現人神にまします上御一人を大御親と仰ぎ奉つて、國民は何れも血の繋がりによつて結ばれたる兄弟家族であります。國難に遭遇すればする程愈々その結束を固くするのが、他國に例を見ない日本國民の特質であり大きな強味であります。個人が機械的に集つて、天賦人權の自由平等だのと、てんでに勝手な振舞ひをする民主主義の國とは大いに違ふのであります。今後如何に長期に亘る試練にさらされ

まして、日本では内部から破綻を來すが如き懸念は絶對にないのでありますから、先づこれほど安心なことはいわけてありません。

又我々は地の利を得て居りますから、兵器の發達した今日でも戦禍が日本本土に及ぶといふことは、先づ考へられないのであります。日本と境を接する國としては支那はあの通りであり、ロシアとは、今後は段々關係は良くなつて行きます。その方の心配は無いと確信致します。して見れば日本としては今日海面だけを見詰めて居ればよろしいのでせう。太平洋は廣いのであります。我々は我が無敵海軍に信賴して餘り取越苦勞はせぬがよろしい。老人子供を都會から移すなどいふのは誠に徒らな人騒がせで、百害あつて一理ないことであります。

十年二十年の長期戦と申しますと、火花を散らしての武力戦よりもむしろ經濟戦、思想戦が主になつて参ります。即戦即決の短

距離競走に對して之はマラソン競走であります。我々の心構へも従つて變つて來なければならぬ。ゆつたりと、神經を太く構へなければならぬ。これまでのやうに戰時だ、一時だ、何もかも一二年の辛抱だと云ふやうな氣持では長期戰はやりません。さうではなくて、之が常態だ、いや戰爭をやりながら之れから段々國內は良くなるのだ、良くしなければならぬと云ふやうな、餘裕のある態度が望ましいと思ひます。それが又、此度の戰爭の性格であります。新秩序建設の爲の戰爭でありますから、戦ひながら建設をやつて行くのであります。戰爭が済む迄には、内も外もあらかた新秩序が出來ると云ふことであれば、これは理想的であります。

國防國家の建設といふことも、この長期戰（？）に臨むための國內體（？）制を整へることが主眼でありまして、目前は生産力擴充を第一の急務と致しますが、之も矢張り國民の心構へが大切

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であります。國民がよく今日の國際情勢を認識し、日本の立場を了解し、總力戰の本質を把握して、之れは一つ奮發しなければならぬ、我儘は云つてゐられないと心から目醒めるのでなければ生産擴充は困難であります。政府が何もかも法律づく、權力づくで、強制してやつても決してよい結果は得られない。何よりも人間の本能、人間の天性といふものを活かさなければならぬ。ただ、戰時戰時と云つて、不必要に國民の心を暗くさせ、何等前途に希望を持たせぬやうなやり方は、つとめて避けなければならぬ。いが、マラソン競争であり、前途は遠いのであるから、あまりせかせかしてはいけない。由來日本の國民性は朗（？）らかであり陽性であるべきであります。大和民族の歴史に於て最大の國難は、天照（？）大神様が天の岩戸にお隠れになり天下が眞暗になつた時であります。その際八百萬の神々は何をなさつたでせう。決して、ただ泣いたり悲しんだりはしなかつた。岩戸の前に集つ

て、高天原も揺りとどろくばかりに踊り興じ笑ひざわめいたではありませぬか。之れが困難に處する日本民族特有の態度であると思ひます。

抑々日本の非常時といふものは初めにも申した通り、人間の智慧でははかり得ない高い深い原因から起つたのであります。滿洲事變も、支那戦争も、謂はば天意であつて、誰れの始めたことでも誰れの責任でもない。我々の爲すべきことはその天意を正しく汲み取ることであります。今日、日本國民は、彼等に非常時の困苦を課して彼等を試さうとする神々の深い意圖を誤りなく讀んでゐると思ひます。誰れ云ふとなく、支那事變の解決は八紘一字の皇謨に即して行はれなければならぬ、と云ふのが今日輿論となつてゐます。また國內の新體制は、一億國民の臣道實踐を可能ならしめることを以て、眼目とすべしといはれて居ります。日本の内外非常時が斯くの如き方法を以て解決さ（？）るべきものであると

いふことに期せずして國論が一致いたしましたのは、誠に素晴らしい事實であります。これは、日本民族が有史以來の難局に當面して、よく國體の本義を想ひ民族使命に目醒めたことを語るものであります。この自覺に基き、この精神を貫くならば、百の内憂も千の外患も少しも恐れる必要はないと存じます。

今までは、何と言つても支那相手の戦争であるといふ氣分で、國民もまた眞剣にはなり切つてゐなかつた。それと多年、英米流の考へ方に染まつて居り、個人主義、物質主義の惡思想が抜けなかつたから、戰時體制に色々と缺陷があり、國民は不安を唱へ、生産は衰退し、ある物も出て來ないといふ有様でありましたが、いよいよ世界的の長期大動亂の渦中に日本もいや應なしに巻き込まれるとなれば、國民の覺悟も自ら進んでありませうし、國體觀念も一段と徹底して來ることでありませうから、我々は今後になる期待を持ち得ることを確信致すのであります。

日本にこの持久戦、總力戦の體制が出来さへすれば、國難の突破は勿論、國家の前途は洋々たるものであると思ひます。今日の戦争は世界の舊體制の行詰まりが、根本の原因でありますから、その行詰まった舊體制が敗退することが自然でありまして、新舊の兩勢力が、大なる犠牲を拂ひ死力を盡して戦つた後に、再び舊體制が勝つて、一切の犠牲も苦勞も水泡に歸するといふことは、これは人類社會の進化の理法から申しても到底考へられないことでありまして、日本としては、舊體制に未練を残し、これと共に没落するといふ重大なる過ちを犯さない限り、決して將來に不安はないと存じます。

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證 明 書

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昭和二十一年九月十六日

社団法人 日本放送協會

